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CONFLICTS AND POLITICS IN URBAN PLANNING IN TANZANIA

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ABSTRACT This paper tries to discuss two important issues. First, it examines the conflict between ideology and actual urban planning in Tanzania. It is argued that, via the Arusha-Declaration, Tanzania showed the intention of building an egalitarian society based on the principles of Ujamaa (socialism). Hence one expected that an attempt to transform some colonial structures in order to suit the socialist aspiring nation could be in the agenda. In Tanzania this has never been the case at the level of urban planning.

The paper argues that the gap between theory and practice exists because Tanzania's socialist theory itself is weak, and does not emanate from a concrete class analysis of the society itself. Secondly, the paper examines the fragmentation of urban planning in Tanzania. Some legal provisions are contradicting as to who should be responsible for what in urban planning. This contradiction has created problems and conflicts between various organs responsible in urban planning. In all cases it is the majority urban poor who are suffering. The paper suggests that the urban planning in socialist aspiring countries must be unified, coordinated and part and parcel of the overall national development plan. Such move must be implemented in Tanzania.

Key Words: Urban planning; Colonialism; Conflict of ideology; Fragmentation of planning.

INTRODUCTION

The history of urban planning in Tanzania owes much to the history of colonialism. In fact it is a direct legacy of it. Urban areas (towns and cities) were established in Tanzania by the colonial government in order to serve the interests of the colonial economy. Most of them were administrative centres of the colonial government. Some were import and export trade ports, like Dar es Salaam, Tanga and Mtwara. Some grew as stopping stations in the colonial transport and communication network system. The best example of such towns are Dodoma, Morogoro, Tabora and Shinyanga. Some towns grew as centres of trade commerce and industry. All towns/cities were linked in one way or another with the functions of the colonial economy. In Tanzania, in addition to the above mentioned factors, some towns grew out of the role they played in the development of particular cash crops. For example, Moshi town has an association with coffee production. Mwanza, with cotton, Shinyanga with diamonds, Mbeya with tea and coffee, Tanga and Morogoro with sisal. It is also in the colonial towns where superstructural instruments of the colonial government for enforcing law and order were based and concentrated. In principle, urban areas were designated areas for Whites as transient administrators and Asians as retail traders. Urbanization as a way of life was considered unsuitable for the indigenous African popula-

tion. This attitude which dominated up to the period after the second World War, had the following effects. First, there was a marked difference between the areas occupied by Non-Africans and Africans. Residential areas for Whites, popularly known as *Uzunguni* (areas for Whites), were characterized by luxurious big houses of European style surrounded with golf-courses, wide roads and open spaces, abundant luxurious social and service system. Oyster-Bay area in Dar es Salaam City, Gangilonga in Iringa, Mlimani area in Dodoma, Isamilo, Capri Point areas in Mwanza, Forest Hill area in Morogoro, Loleza in Mbeya and Kijengi in Arusha are such places which reflect this colonial legacy. The African residential areas were characterized by shanty houses of slum type, overcrowding, poor sanitary conditions, lacked in essential social services like water, public toilets, hospitals, community and recreational service centres, and during rainy seasons, houses kept on floating on their own sewerage. It is in these areas where the African artisans, clerks and other Africans who worked in the colonial government dwelled.

The urban planning of those days had its base on the ideology of colonialism. It was not merely a technical process which was neutral from ideology and apolitical as others would want us to believe, but rather it was part of the ideology and politics. The egg and the chick of the same. It is, therefore, no wonder that technocrats (urban planners) provided urban plans which reflected this legacy, and never contradicted the ideology of colonialism. Race determined where one should live and also the type of social service one should get. In any case, the Whites were the most favoured and the Africans the least favoured. The best thing with this period was that, the politics determining urban planning were open and clear. The enemy was colonialism, and nothing else but colonialism was known; as such the struggle by the oppressed was directed towards it. Also, it was clearly known that the agent of the struggle was the African because he was in the least favoured position and had nothing to loose.

It is sad to learn that struggles, conflicts and politics of the same type still dominate and characterize the urban planning process in post-colonial Tanzania. It got even worse during the Post-Arusha Declaration when Tanzania via this declaration has opted for the "socialist" path of development.

This paper examines these problems at two levels. First, it tries to lay bare the poverty of ideology in urban planning in Tanzania by analysing how the nature of urban planning in Tanzania conflicts and contradicts her dominant ideology of socialism. Secondly, the paper examines the fragmentation of the process of urban planning, by describing the effects it is breeding and the nature of the interests involved in the whole process. The paper is divided into 5 parts. The first part is the introduction. The second part analyses the conflict between ideology and urban planning in Tanzania. The third part examines the fragmentation of urban planning. The fourth part identifies the kind of people who have/are suffered/suffering from these problems. And finally the paper ends with some concluding remarks.

THE CONFLICT OF IDEOLOGY IN URBAN PLANNING

Urban planning in Tanzania started during the colonial period, specially during

British colonialism (late 1920s). During this period, rules for more settlements were passed and 56 townships were proclaimed. A Town Development Control Ordinance was passed in 1930s, and Dar es Salaam City became the first Urban District in 1938 (Mtiro, 1987).

In 1948, Sir Alexander Gibbs and Company prepared the first master plan for Dar es Salaam (Ibid.). The same company also prepared planning schemes for another 20 towns. In 1949, the Town Planning Department was established and operated under the auspices of the Division of Land surveys in the Ministry of Lands. This Department became a full fledged one in 1950 (Ibid.).

In 1956, a law titled "Town and Country Planning" was enacted. It was amended in 1960 and revised again in 1961. This principal legislation became the chapter 378 of the national laws. In summary, the law provides procedures for making plans, contents of planning schemes, duties and powers of various organs of the government in urban planning matters. The law restricts the use of land, promotes better social and physical environment in settlements. It also protects rights of the indigenous people over land and provides opportunities to participate in the planning process of their areas.⁽¹⁾ It is this law which is supposed to be the guiding line in various processes of urban planning.

Tanzania became independent in 1961. The British colonial government left, but left behind intact their system of administration, the laws, the ministries and their departments, the army and the judiciary. And the post-colonial government inherited these colonial structures.

One of the earliest achievement of the post-colonial government at least in theory was the nationalization of land. The land was declared to be the national property and private land ownership illegal.

In 1967, via the Arusha Declaration, Tanzania opted for the socialist path of development. Exploitation and oppression of man by man was rejected. The goal was to create a country based on equality of man along the principles of the Ujamaa Policy. At the level of urban planning this called for a complete overhaul of the ideological content of the urban planning machinery. Their role now was to serve the country aspiring for socialism, but not a capitalist one, although capitalistic tendencies had already been planted and enhanced by the post-colonial state. What everybody expected was a situation where in urban planning the following issues could be put into consideration. Standardization of housing, development and growth of cities, laying out a city centre to give a political- cultural-administrative centre image rather than simply an area of retail concentration, employment of neighbourhood unit concept aimed at dividing the city into self-contained units (Lugalla, 1977: 135). One would also expect to see urban plans which reflected full utilization and rational development of land, unified planning, rational layout avoiding wasteful use of land, plans based on self-reliance, hard working and thrifty in urban construction, and attempts to integrate industry and agriculture along with the integration of city and the countryside (Ibid.). Such issues at least in theory do characterize and dominate the system and nature of urban planning in "socialist" societies. Under socialism it is also expected that, no part of the city should attract or repel certain classes. That is, the difference between one part of the city and another should not be in the social class

of the residents but rather in the land use pattern. One would also expect Tanzania to be acquainting herself with the techniques of urban planning in socialist countries by learning and practising the experiences of these countries. For example, China. However, the opposite has been the case. Tanzania has not lived to its objectives. *How?* and *Why?*

First, and foremost, is the fact that Tanzania has never invited a firm originating from "*socialist*" countries in order to participate in urban planning in Tanzania: Tanzania has always been inviting and approving the urban plans designed by urban planning consultants from capitalist countries. For example, the Project Planning Associates of Canada designed the Dar es Salaam Master Plan in 1968. The same company produced the Dodoma New Capital Master Plan in 1975/76. The Marshall Macklin Monaghan Limited Associates Consultants from Canada prepared the 5 year Development Plan for Arusha, and also for Dar es Salaam in 1975. The Plan for Tanga town has been prepared by the Inter-Consultants which is a foreign company based in Dar es Salaam. In all cases the plans have been very expensive and born out of dependency upon foreign assistance. Such move is contrary to the Arusha Declaration which called for the building of socialism with the spirit of self-reliance. No plan has ever been implemented to its logical conclusion. Recently, invitations have been made for consultants to tender for the preparation of another National Capital Master Plan (NCMP) for Dodoma. Nobody knows what has happened with the 1976 NCMP prepared by the Project Planning Associates of Canada. Although most of the urban plans reflect the needs of a poor developing country, their main characteristics are still within the orthodoxy of European and North American town planning theories of late 1960 (Lugalla, 1987: 140). The master plans still emphasize the strict zoning method, the division of residential areas in terms of income, by politely using the technical terms "high" "medium" "low" density residential areas, which in actual fact stand for "poor" "middle" and "rich" income people. Hence, one sees the discrepancy between what was/is advocated at the level of ideology (Arusha Declaration) and the real political practice at the level of urban planning in Tanzania. More interesting is the fact that the urban planning in socialist oriented countries is not offered in the curriculum for the students of urban and rural planning who are being trained at the Ardhi Institute in Dar es Salaam which is the only Institute offering this course in Tanzania. Why is this so? We shall try to answer this question in our concluding remarks. Let us now examine the technical contradictions of the urban planning process. Namely, the fragmentation of urban planning.

THE FRAGMENTATION OF URBAN PLANNING

During colonialism and early period after independence, the planning department at Ministry of Lands and Surveys overseered all planning activities at the District or town level. Although there existed local or urban governments, urban planning technocrats were all directly employed by Ministry and hence directly responsible and answerable to it. During that time the load was minimal and things operated quite smoothly.

A major set-back in urban planning cropped up after the introduction of the decentralization programme in 1972. The local and urban governments were abolished. Regional Development Directors (RDDs) and DDDs for the Districts were installed, and they managed and directed the development of the regions and districts with the assistance of their functional managers. This was the period following the Arusha Declaration. Emphasis was laid on socialism and Rural Development. Hence less budget and emphasis was allocated to urban development. Land Officers, Town Planners at both regional and district levels became employed by the RDD, and got the financial support via RDD's budget. They became responsible and answerable to RDD because he was their employer. He could even allocate the funds allotted to urban development to other activities, on which they could not question him. From the central government it was clear that the task of urban development was still under the control of the Ministry of Lands, Natural Resources and Tourism. However, the Ministry could not perform its tasks well because its technocrats at regional and district levels were preoccupied with the planning work for rural development. Less time was devoted for urban planning. The effect of this is the fact that at present 60% of the urban population in Tanzania live in unplanned squatter areas (Mtiro, 1987).

The decentralization system also meant that the local sources of revenue for urban authorities was all taken by the government. And because by then emphasis had been laid on rural development, this revenue could more likely (as was the case) be re-invested for rural development activities. The assumption under the decentralization programme was that urban areas were far more developed than rural areas.

After 4 years the government realized that the 1972 decentralization was inappropriate for the development of urban areas. Basic services such as water, roads, electricity, fire services, garbage and refuse collection, housing and transport deteriorated (Ndaba, 1987). In 1976 the Prime Minister formed a team to study this situation. Among other things, the committee showed a concern to the government's attitude of emphasizing rural development at the expense of urban development and recommended the provision of adequate funds for the urban services. The recommendations of this report led also to the re-establishment of the local and urban governments in 1978. But they did not get permission to collect levies until 1984, and prior to that they had depended on subventions from the central government. It was a difficult task to get subventions since the country had been facing the resource constraints after the Tanzania Uganda War.

The Town Councils were established through the enactment of the Urban Authorities Act, No. 8 of 1982. The main objective of this law was to promote local people's participation in running day to day affairs in urban areas. It is this act which has given birth to some contradictory relationship between the Ministry of Lands and the Urban Councils.

According to Town and Country Planning Ordinance Cap. 378, it is the Minister for Lands, Natural Resources and Tourism who has been given powers on urban planning by the President. Day to day town planning matters are handled by this Minister with the support of the Town Planning Division. The division has three

sections:

- (a) National Master Plan Control.
- (b) Urban Development Control.
- (c) Rural Development Section.

At regional levels there are Regional Town Planners being the organs of the central government. So clearly defined that there is no doubt at the central government no other Minister can be responsible for town planning matters other than this Minister. This has also been confirmed by the Government Notice No. 205 published on 17th April 1987 in the government gazette.⁽²⁾

The same government notice states that all urban councils are answerable to the Minister of Local Government and Cooperative Development. In fact by virtue of this notice, the directorate of urban development and housing which used to be under the Ministry for Lands has now been transferred to the Ministry responsible for local government. At the sametime some sections of CAP. 378 which empowers the Minister for Lands to give powers on town planning matters have not been amended. At present, all urban councils have town planning officers whose responsibility is to advice Urban Councils on town planning matters. Adjacent to that is the fact that the Urban Authorities Act No. 8 of 1982 section 42 provides for the establishment of standing committees responsible for urban planning. The duties of these committees are still unclear and nobody knows how these committees are supposed to cooperate with the already established planning machinery. From CAP 378, all urban councils are area planning committees, and subsection 3 of section 17 states that the functions of the area planning committees shall have to be delegated by the Minister.

So here you have a situation where the contradictory nature of the legal provisions is disintegrating urban planning. Most of the Urban Councils are now questioning the powers of the Minister for Lands, Natural Resources and Tourism. They have negative attitude towards him and challenge him. Some people are already exploiting this situation in order to administer and further their own individual or class interests. What then has been the implication of this contradiction?

A major urban development policy was made in the Second Five Year Plan (SFYP) 1969–1974 in which 9 towns were designated as growth pole centres. The aim of this policy was to disperse industries throughout Tanzania in order to reduce the primacy of Dar es Salaam. Decentralization which emphasized rural development frustrated the implementation of this policy. The decision to mobilize rural people into villages in 1974/75 in order to enhance socialism ended up creating in some areas small urban oentres which were unplanned and lacked essential services.

The town planners, surveyors, land valuers and land officers are employed by the Urban Councils, and therefore are controlled and answerable to the Town Director and not the Minister of Lands, Natural Resources and Tourism. Technically they are supposed to consult and report to this Minister. And according to law, all Urban Master Plans, Surveying Plans, provision of Land Titles have to be approved by this Ministry. In most cases you have a situation where the “*administrative*” powers of the Urban Councils overrides the *technical* powers of the Minister. As a result, it is difficult for the Minister to monitor the nature of urban development. It is also impossible for

him to control the professional code of conducts of urban planners because he does not have the authority of hiring and firing them. Some urban plans are designed and implemented without the approval of the Ministry. In some towns, urban planners have often interfered the originally approved plan by surveying plots in open spaces, areas reserved for cemetery purposes, for schools, etc. This is a common problem in Dar es Salaam.

It also takes a long time till the surveyed urban plots are approved by the Ministry. Some urban councils have been offering plots without the Ministers' approval, and in turn the Minister for Lands has been reluctant to offer Land Titles and the Right Occupancy, without which security of tenure remains uncertain, and development of land by the owners remains problematic. There has been delay in surveying areas for residential purposes. Hence the supply of plots has not matched the demand for it. For example in Dar es Salaam in 1979, total plot applications were over 3,000, but those available did not exceed even a half of it (Table 1). If you consider that in Dar es Salaam the average annual household increase is 6,000 then one can understand as to why the annual average requirement of plots for Dar es Salaam is not less than 5,000 plots (Kisege, 1979: 19).

The scarcity of plots in Dar es Salaam, the present inflation and the gap between real income and the cost of living have given birth to corruptive tendencies in urban planning. Land is now a hot cake in Dar es Salaam. Land speculation and disposition is on the increase. Residential plots of low density which are situated along the Beach of Indian Ocean (Mbezi and Msasani Beaches) cost (T)Sh200,000 or above. Normal high-density or medium density plots in Tabata cost between (T)Sh20,000 and 50,000 and (T)Sh60,000 and 100,000 respectively (Lugalla, 1987). The millionaires are also buying plots with shanty houses from the urban poor for more than millions of shillings. The Kariakoo area is a case in point. The new landlords are erecting tall buildings which are turned into hotels or Guest Houses and not for residential purposes.⁽³⁾ There is also a problem of double allocation, that is one plot is allocated to two or more people. Cases of this kind have been common in Sinza area which was developed as a site and service scheme project.

Hence for Dar es Salaam, it is a big matter who is given powers of allocating residential plots to applicants. At present there is a wrangle as to who, between the City Council and the Ministry for Lands, should allocate the plots. The Ministry has the intention to interfere in this issue on the ground that the City Council Officers are corrupted. However, the validity of such interference remains questionable, after experiencing the same corruptive behaviour during the allocation of the Sinza, Tegeta,

Table 1. Plot allocation in Dar es Salaam in 1979.

Nature of plot	Surveyed plots	No. of allocated plots	Allocated & developed	Allocated but underdeveloped
High density	794	614	421	193
Medium density	199	186	157	29
Low density	66	58	43	15
Total	1059	858	621	237

Source: Kisege, 1979: 19.

and Tabata plots which were under the site and service scheme project and were under the sole responsibility of the Ministry. Hence one sees that the issue here is not establishing a proper and fair procedure of distributing plots but rather it is a question of who should enjoy the advantages of being in that position of managing land. Given these contradictions the final interesting question would be, who suffers? Let us now turn to this issue.

WHO SUFFERS?

There is no doubt that it is the so called urban poor who have mostly been affected by the conflicts and contradictions dominant in the urban planning process in Tanzania. The demand for plots exceeds the supply, the result of which 60% of the population in Dar es Salaam reside in squatter settlements and 42% of them are tenants (Ndjovu, 1980: 35). Shortage of housing has sky-located the housing rents. In Dar es Salaam one has to spend almost 75% of his monthly wage, for housing (workers with minimum pay) (Ibid.). The urban plans lag behind the urbanization process, that is the growth of towns proceeds faster in breadth and depth. Hence urban areas in Tanzania are poorly planned, financed and managed. Most of them lack therefore essential facilities like enough water, electricity, social service centres, transport, wide streets, proper drainage and sewerage systems and what have you. The most affected areas have been the squatter areas. For example, squatter areas of Manzese, Mabibo, Ubungo, Keko, Shimo la Udongo, Buguruni, Mtoni, Mbagala, Kinondoni, Kipawa and Vingunguti in Dar es Salaam city are a case in point. These areas, together with others accommodate the majority of the poor population in Dar es Salaam. Data from the Muhimbili Medical Centre show that these areas are the high breeders and cradle lands for water-borne diseases i.e. Diarrhoea, Cholera, Malaria and others (Lugalla, 1987). The refuse and garbage facilities are also lacking and the situation is worse in the squatter areas. The City Council is using the Tabata area which is very close to the Tabata residential area as a city garbage disposing centre. Fire burns throughout the year, and for the Tabata people pollution is the order of the day given the fact that this area is situated on the windward side. One can imagine what type of the city Dar es Salaam is. With a population of almost 1,500,000 million, it has only 15 public toilets and none is operational. It has 8 public telephone booths with only two being in good order. Given the contradictions dominant in urban planning which we have amplified above, one sees a situation which, one could name: "The Management in Crisis, Managing the Urban Crisis." Whatever the case, it is the majority urban poor who are paying off.

SOME CONCLUDING REMARKS

This paper has tried to raise two important issues. First, it has laid bare the fact that a lacuna exists in Tanzania between the ideology (the intentions) at the level of the political and practice. The actual nature of urban planning in Tanzania contradicts

and in fact runs counter to the aspirations stated via the Arusha Declaration of 1967 of building an egalitarian society based on socialism. This shows a gap between theory and practice. Why is this so? First it appears to me that Tanzania does not see the relationship between ideology and development, and the relationship between the ideology of colonialism and the interests of colonialism. This is obvious because no attempts have been/are being made in order to change various systems and structures which were established in order to serve the colonial regime into structures which could suit the aspirations of post-colonial Tanzania. It seems there is an assumption among Tanzanian leaders that planning and for that matter urban planning is purely a technical issue neutral from ideology. Following that, is the assumption that a capitalist oriented institution can provide a good socialist plan. This is cheating oneself and self-defeating. The socialist policy of Tanzania does not emanate from a dialectical and concrete class analysis of the Tanzanian society, but it is very much a "belief", an "attitude of mind". Hence there are conceptual as well as practical difficulties in identifying the key groups of people who can be agents of building socialism (Lugalla, 1987: 147). This vacuum is reflected in attempts to adopt policies, strategies and much more so during implementation (Ibid.). This problematic is therefore historical and concrete. The theory of socialism is weak, and the practice which results from it is failing to reorganize the structure of Tanzania in a socialist way. The urban planning process operates within the context of this situation. And the conflict between it and ideology reflects this phenomenon.

Secondly, the paper has raised an issue of the fragmentation of urban planning in Tanzania. We have argued concretely how critical is the situation, and shown who are suffering from its result of the fragmentation. What is required here is simply a question of making sure that the laws, regulations enacted do not contradict and delegate powers to different people to deal with the same issues. The government has to be clear cut and specific. Given the fact that the urban councils have their own governments and have powers of making by-laws and collecting revenue, there is no reason as to why, (as long as they have qualified urban planners) they should not be allowed to plan, distribute plots and also provide Land Titles and Right of Occupancy, and let the Ministry be informed just as a matter of procedure. This approach will bring powers of urban planning closer to the people, will make the people feel that they have the ability and powers to plan for their own development and will also minimize some bureaucratic procedures and therefore maximize efficiency.

At present there are Town and City Councils at urban level. The Directorate of Town Planning at national level is under the umbrella of the Ministry of Lands, Natural Resources and Tourism. The Directorate of Rural and Urban Housing, the Sewerage and Sanitation Department are under the umbrella of the Ministry of Local Governments and Cooperatives. Hence you have a situation where the lay out of the urban planning is done by one ministry and urban planning as regards housing sewerage and drainage system in urban areas, by another ministry. It is not necessary for one to know about what planning is in order to realize that this is a contradiction of historical experience.

Effective real urban planning has to be a part and parcel of the overall National

Development Plans. It must be unified and coordinated at all levels. The majority must be seen to participate. Such a situation should be attained if Tanzania is serious with her aspiration of building socialism. By so doing, the fragmentation of urban planning in Tanzania will come to an end.

NOTES

- (1) Town and country planning ordinance. *Tanzania National Laws*, Chapter 378.
- (2) *Government Notice*, No. 205, 17th April 1987.
- (3) *Daily News Paper*, 12th February 1988.

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